

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-10

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P 261607Z OCT 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 211527

EXDIS

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM ATHENS OCT 25

QUOTE

S E C R E T ATHENS 7445

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, GR

SUBJECT: POLITICAL MANUEVERS ON THE LEFT

1. RECENT STATEMENTS BY GREEK COMMUNIST AND LEFTIST LEADERS COMBINED WITH MARKEZINIS' CONCILIATORY PUBLIC REMARKS RE COMMUNISM AND GREEK LEFT, AND SUBSEQUENT PRESS COMMENT (ALL REPORTED SEPARATELY), PROVIDE BACKGROUND FOR FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT OF GREEK COMMUNIST MOVEMENT'S POSITION RE CURRENT GREEK POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS, ESPECIALLY QUESTION OF PARTICIPATION IN UPCOMING ELECTIONS. ANALYSIS SHOULD ALSO BE READ IN CONJUNCTION WITH AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATION WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR ON OCTOBER 23, REPORTED SEPARATELY, AND ATHENS 7387 DISCUSSING POSSIBLY MARKEZINIS' PRE-ELECTION TACTICS. ABSENCE OF LEGAL FRAMEWORK COVERING ELECTIONS,  
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AND LACK OF DEFINITION OF CRITERIA WHICH WILL APPLY TO APPLICATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS AND POLITICAL PARTIES FOR PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS, ARE ALSO RELEVANT TO AMBIVALENT COMMUNIST ATTITUDES.

2. MOSCOW-BACKED KKE (GREEK CP) AND DISSIDENT KKE HAVE ADOPTED DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO CURRENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS. HOWEVER, PUBLICLY, EACH REMAINS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO PAPADOPOULOS-MARKEZINIS GOVERNMENT.

A. IN ITS PRONOUNCEMENTS AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS, MOSCOW-ORIENTED KKE CONTINUES TOTALLY OPPOSED TO COOPERATION WITH GOG IN ANY FORM, INCLUDING PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL OR MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS. MARKEZINIS' CONCILIATORY REMARKS, HOWEVER, HAVE GIVEN RISE TO SPECULATION THAT HE MAY BE CONSIDERING MORE PERMISSIVE POLICY TOWARD EXTREME LEFT. IRRESPECTIVE OF PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF SUCH A MOVE, INCLUDING OPPOSITION OF GREEK MILITARY, EMBASSY HAS INDICATIONS THAT MOSCOW-BACKED KKE (WHICH HAS LONG SOUGHT RECOGNITION AS LEGAL PARTY). IS SO DESPERATE FOR RECOGNITION THAT IT MIGHT BE PREPARED TO AUTHORIZE PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS IN EXCHANGE FOR MARKEZINIS' RECOGNITION. (THIS POSITION WOULD SEEM TO BE SUPPORTED BY SOVIET AMBASSADOR'S REMARKS (ATHENS 7407) THAT PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS SHOULD BE AS BROAD AS POSSIBLE.)

B. THE DISSIDENT KKE, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS SOUGHT TO ALIGN ITSELF, INsofar AS IS POSSIBLE, WITH THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF THE NON-COMMUNIST PARTIES. THROUGH THE PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF ITS LEADERS IT HAS CALLED FOR FORMATION OF "POPULAR FRONT" EMBRACING ALL ELEMENTS OPPOSED TO GOG. DISSIDENT KKE HAS IMPLIED IT WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS IF NON-COMMUNIST PARTIES BOYCOTT THEM. HOWEVER, PERHAPS ENCOURAGED BY MARKEZINIS' COMMENTS, THIS FACTION HAS ALREADY MADE CONTINGENCY PLANS TO FORM ITS OWN LEGITIMATE POLITICAL PARTY TENTATIVELY ENTITLED "THE GREEK LEFT". THIS PARTY WOULD BE CHARTERED BY 100 "CLEAN LEFTISTS", I.E., PERSONS WHO HAVE NEVER BEEN TRIED UNDER LAW 509 OR FOR OTHER POLITICAL OFFENSES, IN AN EFFORT TO PASS SCRUTINY OF CONSTITUTIONAL COURT AND BEGIN POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

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C. "ANDREISTS", I.E., THOSE LEFTISTS RESPONSIVE TO LEADERSHIP OF ANDREAS PAPANDREOUS WOULD, IN CONTINUED ABSENCE OF THEIR LEADER FROM GREECE, FIND CONVENIENT POLITICAL ROOF IN "GREEK LEFT" PARTY. PAK, PAPANDREOU'S ANTI-REGIME RESISTANCE GROUP, IS PRIMARILY ORGANIZED ABROAD AND HAS LITTLE IN THE WAY OF VIABLE INTERNAL APPARATUS AT THIS POINT. THERE ARE, NEVERTHELESS, AND UNDETERMINED NUMBER OF VOTERS AND A SMALL (6-8) GROUP OF FORMER CENTER UNION DEPUTIES WHO WOULD STILL RESPOND TO HIS INSTRUCTIONS. THESE COULD GROW DRAMATICALLY IN NUMBER IF OTHER NATIONALIST POLITICAL FORCES FAIL TO DEVELOP POLITICAL ACTIVITY WITH BROAD POPULAR APPEAL AND THUS LEAVE THE FIELD TO ANDREAS BY DEFAULT.

D. ALSO LIKELY TO BE CAUGHT BETWEEN A LEFTIST  
OPPOSITION GROUPING AND A WELL-FINANCED ESTABLISHMENT  
PARTY LED BY MARKEZINIS IS VIMA-BACKED, LIBERAL,  
INTELLECTUAL POLITICAL GROUP WHICH INCLUDES PROFESSORS  
MANGAKIS, KARAGIORGAS, TSATSOS, AND FORMER DEPUTY  
GOVERNOR OF BANK OF GREECE PESMAZOGLOU. ALL  
WERE OUTSPOKEN OPPONENTS OF REGIME WHO DID TIME IN  
PRISON OR WERE IN DOMESTIC EXILE PRIOR TO GENERAL AMNESTY  
OF AUGUST 1973. THEY HOPE TO PROVIDE THE NUCLEUS OF A  
NON-COMMUNIST POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN OPPOSITION TO  
MARKEZINIS' POLITICAL ARRAY. ALTHOUGH THEY ARE AVOWED  
ANTI-COMMUNISTS, IT IS NOT INCONCEIVABLE THAT EVENTS COULD  
DRIVE THEM INTO A TEMPORARY POLITICAL ALLIANCE WITH A  
WELL-ORGANIZED LEFTIST PARTY, IF SUCH IS PERMITTED TO  
FUNCTION BY PAPADOPOULOS, MARKEZINIS AND CONSTITUTIONAL  
COURT.

E. SOVIET POSITION IN ALL THIS WOULD SEEM  
TO BE TO SIT BACK, LET PAPADOPOULOS' NORMALIZATION PLANS  
RUN THEIR COURSE, AND URGE BROADEST POSSIBLE (I.E.,  
COMMUNIST OR MORE REALISTICALLY COMMUNIST FRONT)  
PARTICIPATION IN AN EFFORT TO EXPLOIT RETURN TO POLITICAL  
PROCESSES AND SO ENHANCE SOVIET'S OWN LONG-RANGE INTERESTS.

3. I WOULD APPRECIATE EMBASSY MOSCOW'S COMMENTS, AND  
THEREFORE SUGGEST DEPARTMENT REPEAT THIS MESSAGE AND  
REFTELS TO MOSCOW.

TASCA

UNQUOTE KISSINGER

SECRET

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SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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